

### Central Intelligence Agency Office of the Deputy Director for Intelligence





17 OCT 1986

NOTE TO: Acting Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT: Reply to Ambassador Ridgway

Invitation

Attached for your signature is reply to Ambassador Ridgway's invitation for an agency representative to attend the 30-31 October conference to be held in Brussels.

7s/ Dick K.

Richard J. Kerr Deputy Director for Intelligence

Attachment: a/s





The Honorable Rozanne L. Ridgway Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs Department of State Washington, D.C. 20520

	or the 30-31 october conference which
I find a very welcome initiative to	deal with the malaise in the
Alliance. I was, therefore, happy to	to learn that our office of European
Analysis had been discussing the pla	anning and agenda of the conference
with your staff for the past severa	l weeks and had made arrangements for
a senior special	ist on the Soviet conventional threat,
	and participate in any discussions of
Soviet matters.	
As you note in your letter and a	as our Europeanists have discussed
with Mr. Ray Calwell's office, howey	ver, the conference will focus heavily
on "Furonean realities". With Mr.	Calwell's concurrence we are therefore
also sending at our expense	
and European specialist, to particip	
_ •	pate in the other parts of the
conference.	
	trust that   will be able to

In a demostration of its topicality, your conference has also attracted the attention of our new Chairman of the National Intelligence Council, Brigadier General Frank B. Horton III. Your Principal Deputy Charles Thomas has probably told you that General Horton has discussed the conference with him and also looks forward to participating in what will certainly be a stimulating discussion.

make useful contributions to the conference agenda.

Sincerely,

Robert M. Gates
Acting Director of Central Intelligence

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16 October 1986

NOTE TO: Deputy Director for Intelligence	
FROM: Director, Office of European Analysis	25 <b>X</b> 1
SUBJECT: Reply to Ambassador Ridgway30-31 October Conference in Brussels	
Dick	
The letter is self-explanatory:	
	25X1
Attachment: 1. Note to Acting DCI 2. Memo to Amb. Ridgway	

25X1



#### 16 October 1986

NOTE TO: Deputy Director for Intelligence	
FROM: Director, Office of European Analysis	25 <b>X</b> 1
SUBJECT: Reply to Ambassador Ridgway30-31 October Conference in Brussels	
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Distribution: (w/attachment) 1 - DDCI	
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### Central Intelligence Agency Office of the Deputy Director for Intelligence

9 October 1986

NOTE FOR: D/EURA

George,

Talk to the NIO/GPF and NIO/EUR about this. I would like you to take the lead even though the presentation probably needs to be given by someone from SOVA or the NIO shop. It appears to me that the major issues are going to be European not Soviet.

Richard J. Kerr Deputy Director for Intelligence

Attachment: As stated

cc: D/SOVA

HAND CARRY



25X1



United States Department of State

Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs Washington, D.C. 20520

Executive Registry
RG- 4597X

Mr. Robert Gates
Deputy Director
Central Antelligence Agency

Dear Mr. Tates

On October 30-31, 1986, I will chair a Conference on European Arms Control and Security Issues at the U.S. Mission to NATO in Brussels. The conference, the first such gathering in years, will bring together officers concerned with political and political-military affairs from our embassies in NATO and Warsaw Pact capitals. Political Advisors assigned to major NATO and U.S. commands in Europe and representatives from our arms control delegations will also attend. The conference is intended as a dialogue. Participants from the field will receive an update on policy, while those of us from Washington will hear the observations of those who deal daily with European realities. We believe that both groups will profit.

Enclosed is the program for the conference. As you can see, we have attempted to include discussion of as many of the pressing security issues as possible. The conference is divided into four major topics: nuclear defense and arms control, public affairs and public diplomacy, other arms control and security questions, and Soviet threat/NATO response. Within each major topic, there will be one or more panel discussions.

I would like to invite a representative of your agency to attend and to deliver the presentation on the evolving Soviet conventional threat (October 31, morning). Of course, we would also welcome your agency's contributions to other portions of the agenda.

- 2 -

Given the tight budgetary situation which we face, the Department of State cannot offer to pay travel or per diem costs. I hope, however, that you will agree that the potential two-way benefits from the conference justify the costs. Please let me know whether you will be able to send a representative. If you would like additional information, please contact George Ward, EUR/RPM, telephone: 647-1627.

Sincere

Rozanie L. Ridgway

Enclosure

## Conference on European Arms Control and Security Issues

### Thursday, October 30

- 0830 Arrival of participants Coffee
- Opening of conference by Assistant Secretary Ridgway

(Purpose and approach of the meeting, outlook for East-West relations, including summit preparations)

Opportunities and obstacles: The challenges ahead in East-West and West-West security relations

Moderator: Ambassador Abshire

(The objective of this lead-off panel will be to identify the problems ahead and to define the key questions that will frame the discussions.)

-- Changes in Western Governments: Can the Alliance withstand a sharp left turn?

(Brief description by Embassy representatives of electoral prospects in key countries, and of what defense policies would be if opposition parties take office. Other post representatives could then describe the effects in their countries of changes in governments in key European capitals.)

-- The added impact of diminishing resources: will NATO be making bricks without straw?

(Introductory words from Washington on Gramm-Rudman, followed by comments from capitals on budgetary stringencies in Europe and their implications for CDI, defense capabilities in general, and Alliance politics. Consideration of the potential implications of trade disputes and protectionism on Alliance cohesion.)

-- "Arms Controlitis":

(Pressure on Allied governments, and the U.S. in particular, for progress in arms control is sure to continue. Post representatives could descirbe internal political realities which generate pressure for arms control agreements.)

- -- Summary: The transatlantic drift: Is it real?
- 1100 Break
- Nuclear defense and Arms control: If the genie can't be bottled, what's to be done?

Moderator: EUR DAS Thomas

(Instead of discussing each negotiation separately, the conference will address major themes, keeping in mind the European domestic political and economic factors taken up in the preceding panel.)

-- U.S. and Soviet negotiating strategies

(What are the bottom lines for both sides? What do the Soviets most want to accomplish? Restrain U.S. modernization? Scuttle SDI? And what will they give up to do so? What will be the Congressional and public pressures on U.S. strategy? How do we play this with the Allies?)

-- Compliance and interim restraint

(Washington description of current regime; how do these concerns interact with strategies outlined above and, in that context, affect prospects for an agreement? Possible U.S. responses to Allied concerns: Was the reaction to the Salt II decision avoidable?)

1330 Working Lunch

Public affairs and Public diplomacy

Moderator: Amb. Abshire

- -- Allied perceptions of America -- Is anti-Americanism here to stay?
- -- The European image in the U.S., including Congress. Will Congress tell Europe to take a hike?
- -- Improving the transatlantic dialogue on security issues -- If the problem is disagreement on substantive policy, rather than lack of understanding, how do we proceed?

- -- Eastern European governments and public opinion: Can we do some wedge-driving of our own?
- 1530 Discussion ends. Return to USNATO
- Resume discussion begun before lunch on nuclear defense and arms control
  - -- Alternative scenarios for Geneva outcome

(Based on assumptions made regarding both sides' strategies, there is a spectrum of possibilities for the months ahead: outright failure; further prolonged negotiation; conclusion of partial or token agreement(s); spectacular success (perhaps summit-inspired). What problems and benefits would each bring for East-West and West-West relations, and for U.S. programs. Thereafter, discussion should shift to consider:)

- -- Implications of various Geneva scenarios for:
  - o Strategic defense

(This will include a brief SDI status report, since the impact of various possible outcomes on the component technologies of SDI will be a function of how far along those technologies are.)

o Alliance relations

(Discussion of host country public/government reactions to various possible results.)

o U.S./UK/French Modernization Programs

(Will the French continue to be able to keep their systems independent of arms control restraints? Would the British, under a Labor government?)

- o ATBM
- -- How can a summit help? How will lack of one hurt?

(A Reagan-Gorbachev meeting would provide the U.S. a major asset in Europe. It will be important to discuss how this asset could be used to best advantage--or, if no meeting seems likely, how to moderate the impact on Alliance unity.)

#### Friday, October 31

(

- 0830 Arrival of participants Coffee
- O845 Soviet threat/NATO response
  Moderator: PM DAS John Hawes
  - -- Introduction: The evolving Soviet threat

(As we move through the 1980s, the USSR's evolving military capabilities will create situations that NATO strategy might not be prepared to deal with. The challenge is two-fold: first, how to respond to this problem within the context of the West's defensive planning; second, how to use conventional arms control to maximum advantage in constraining such a development. It is within such a context that the discussions of CDI, CTF, etc., are best pursued.)

-- The NATO resources problem

(Washington description of effect of Gramm-Rudman on Defense and State, including levels of U.S. security assistance as well as U.S. troop commitments to Europe. Post representatives describe the European economies and the likelihood of decreased defense spending. Attention should also be given to the likely political dynamics these reductions could foster.)

-- CDI: Are there strong enough commitments for the future?

(Washington and USNATO detail the ways in which embassies can sustain the momentum of CDI and keep efforts coordinated in the face of these resource problems. Selected posts describe the current role played by CDI in resource allocation in their capitals.)

- 1045 Break
- 1100 Armaments cooperation

(USNATO status report on cooperative projects, including technology sharing and control, followed by exchange with posts on evolving arms cooperation prospects and the role of embassies in furthering defense-industrial cooperation. Discussion would then move to issues of technology management, and the economic rationale for armaments cooperation.

#### 1145 Other Conventional Defense Questions

-- CW modernization: progress to date, lessons learned

Moderator: USNATO DCM Ledogar

(Washington reports on current status and future prospects of the CW issue within USG. Given that assessment, discussion of how best to handle the issue in NATO capitals; role of USNATO in facilitating any action.)

#### 1230 Lunch

#### 1430 Conventional arms control

Moderator: DAS Charles Thomas

(Introductory comments by DAS Thomas on the work of the NATO high-level task force on conventional arms control. comments by post representatives. Within this framework, discussion of the future of MBFR and CDE.)

# Out of area -- can Qadhafi and the Sandinistas succeed where Soviet wedge-drivers failed?

Moderator: DCM Ledogar

(From broad alliance perspective, potential problems that could arise due to transatlantic disputes over U.S. actions in areas not normally the subject of NATO direct attention.)

-- Terrorism/Libya

Embassy representatives discuss their host countries' reactions and the issue of use of U.S./NATO bases for actions against Qadhafi. Washington assessment of efforts to date to

generate worldwide pressure on Qadhafi.)

The impact on the alliance of foreign policy differences in other regions; the EC's "political" role

(Implications for Alliance management of European differences with the U.S. in other regions.)

1630 Conference synthesis (Ledogar/Thomas)

1715 Closing remarks (Ridgway/Abshire)